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WOMEN AND THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT DECADE IN AFRICA

1. Historically, African economies have experienced an inadequate level and an undesirable pattern of industrialization. In 1980, Africa had an industrial sector, concentrated in a few countries, which contributed less than 10 percent to gross domestic product. The pattern of industrialization has been undesirable as the process has failed to bring a structural transformation sufficient to generate long term self-sustained socio-economic development.

2. Manufacturing has been limited to a relatively few lines of production. Predominantly light industries producing consumer goods for the indigenous urban elite, some enterprises have also processed to a limited extent minerals and agricultural raw materials for export. This production has utilized imported raw materials, capital equipment and foreign expertise, and, therefore, has had minimal internal linkage effects. The urban based manufacturing industries have also had limited employment generation effects as the technology embodied in the imported capital equipment was developed for regions with different factor endowments. The capital intensive nature of production has also been encouraged by government fiscal and trade policies which have artificially distorted factor prices. The necessary scientific, technical and managerial skills to fill the limited numbers of intermediate and senior level positions generated by these industries has been lacking in the region.

3. Africa's dependence on imported equipment and machinery has meant not only the use of technologies inappropriate for regional factor endowments, but also delay in the development of a domestic capacity to generate new techniques which would help satisfy the basic needs of the populace. Such development of intermediate level technologies has also been constrained by a lack of fiscal capital, appropriate technical and scientific skills as well as nascent indigenous entrepreneurial capabilities.

4. Although a region rich in natural and human resources, Africa's industrial base has not been oriented towards the production of vital intermediate goods such as fertilizers, cement or steel. The development of such intermediate goods creates significant backward linkages to natural resource bases and generates forward ties to final industrial production, thereby helping to form self sufficient, integrated economies.

5. As a result of their pattern of industrialization, African economies have experienced structural weaknesses, indirect foreign political influences and internal socio-economic distress. Increasingly dependent on foreign economies for both manufacturing inputs and as export purchasers the region has been adversely affected by fluctuating external price changes causing balance of payments difficulties accompanied by foreign exchange outflows. At times, African manufacturing industries, unable to import needed raw materials due to foreign exchange shortages, have been forced to cut back production and/or retrench workers.

6. At the 1980 Lagos Economic Summit, African leaders reaffirmed the importance of industrial development as a primary force for economic growth and overall development, but stressed the need in the Lagos Plan of Action for domestic industry to serve both as a supplier of essential inputs to all sectors of the economy and as a user or processor of the outputs of these sectors. 1/ To focus attention on

1/ United Nations Industrial Development Organization, A Programme for the Industrial Development Decade for Africa (New York: United Nations, 1982), p.1

the proposed reorientation of African industrial activity, the Lagos Economic Summit adopted the years 1980-1990 as the Industrial Decade for Africa. This decision was reinforced by the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly which proclaimed the 1980's as the Industrial Development Decade for Africa. 2/

I. Programme for the Industrial Development Decade for Africa, 1980-1990

7. The purpose of the United Nations Industrial Development Decade for Africa is to promote the development of industrialized African economies capable of generating internally self-sustained economic development by:

(a) each country adopting a strategy focusing on the promotion of a set of priority industries appropriate to its national resources. These industries are essential to the development of self-reliant economies and to meeting the basic needs of the population. The major priority industrial subsectors are food processing, textiles, forest products, building materials and construction, metallurgical industry, chemical industry and the capital goods industry;

(b) each nation paying special attention to the development and mobilization of the necessary manpower to implement the strategy;

(c) each country generating, in particular, scientific, technological and managerial personnel capable of planning, implementing and operating industrial projects within a suitable time frame;

(d) each nation making special efforts to develop and utilize local inputs for domestic industry;

(e) each country developing the capabilities and capacities of indigenous industrial entrepreneurs through incentives, training and support institutions.

8. Fundamentally, the development of a self-reliant African economy involves the mobilization of human knowledge, skills and energy. The Lagos Plan of Action stressed that, "since Africa's greatest asset is its human resources, full mobilization and effective utilization of the labour force (men, women and youth both trained and untrained) for national development and social progress should be a major instrument of development". 3/ Women are a distinctive human resource as they are both producers of goods and services and reproducers of future generations. In this context, socially defined roles and norms direct and limit women's income generating activities. As industrialization proceeds, the requirements of women's dual roles increasingly come into conflict. In some cases, a society may value one role more than another. In others, society, through institutional reorganizations, tries to reconcile the conflicting duties and demands of these two activities. Therefore, if the Industrial Development Decade for Africa is to successfully encourage the growth of self-reliant economies, it is imperative that planners consider how the skills and energies of women can best be integrated into the industrialization process in both the large and small scale enterprises sector.

2/ Ibid, p.1.

3/ Economic Commission for Africa, Plan of Action for Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy, (Lagos, April 1980).

9. From another perspective, the equitable participation of women in the industrialization process is essential to overall development. Two fundamental purposes of development-directed industrialization are the provision of basic needs for the general population and the creation of a more equalitarian income distribution. In many African countries, men and women have separate financial responsibilities within their family units. Women are often responsible for a substantial proportion of the basic food and clothing needs of the family. In other countries, women in great numbers are actually household heads due to death, migration or marital disruptions. Wives of polygynous families are often the de facto heads as they are primarily responsible for the basic needs of themselves and their children. It is not possible for an African nation to produce a more equitable income distribution or to provide more successfully for basic needs if women are denied full and equal participation in the industrialization process.

10. The equitable participation of African women in the industrialization process would entail the following:

(a) equal access to and participation in formal programmes at different levels in educational and vocational training institutions;

(b) equal access to and participation in adult educational programmes which teach not only literacy, but saleable income generating skills;

(c) equal access to economic resources including land and credit in the small scale sector;

(d) equal participation in decision making and planning processes in enterprises, cooperatives and government ministries;

(e) equal participation in non-traditional female occupations which have high incomes, good promotion possibilities and increasing employment prospects in both the large and small scale industrial sectors;

(f) equal rights to control the rewards of one's labour and equal job security;

(g) equal right to be protected against or compensated for the adverse effects of industrialization including technological displacement;

(h) equal encouragement to form and actively participate in collective organizations including trade unions;

(i) equal priority in the development of technologies that will relieve women's work burden in the home and at the work place;

(j) equal and nondiscriminatory protection of all industrial workers under labour legislation;

(k) equal publicity of women's urban and rural industrial activities in the print and electronic media;

(l) equal availability of gender neutral career guidance information;

(m) the recognition by African countries of the importance of women's dual roles and the provision of extensive social investments to lessen women's contradictory work burdens.

11. In developing strategies to encourage African women's equitable participation in the industrialization process, policy makers should not consider women's problems or programmes in isolation, but rather should keep in mind the interrelationships between male and female workers in industrial labour markets in general and in specialized occupational markets. For example, in Africa's undiversified, over-supplied industrial labour markets, male labour is likely to be employed in industries such as textiles which in other regions have been major employers of women. Moreover, under these conditions, employers' discriminatory practices, whether based on inherited colonial prejudices, traditional stereotypes or gender differentiated labour costs are likely to be intensified and become more intractable.

12. In 1984, the African Training and Research Centre for Women of the Economic Commission for Africa commissioned four case studies to:

(a) review and appraise African women's participation in the industrialization process in the modern and small enterprise sectors;

(b) develop recommendations and a plan of action for the participation of women in the Industrial Development Decade in Africa.

The long term aim of the ATRCW/ECA project is to ensure the equitable participation of women in the industrialization process in Africa. The studies, findings and recommendations are the basis for this document. The four case studies (Egypt, Nigeria, Ivory Coast and the United Republic of Tanzania) were chosen to include two of the most industrialized countries in Africa, Egypt and Nigeria, as well as one of the least industrialized nations, Tanzania. The selection, also, reflects considerations of regional and linguistic balance. Finally, the four countries differ in terms of past industrialization strategies and enterprise ownership patterns.

13. Each of the four countries has been undergoing industrialization under conditions of economic duress. Those conditions include war, natural disaster, declining as well as fluctuating world agricultural and mineral prices, balance of payments difficulties, rapid population growth and insufficient infrastructural facilities.

II. African Government Industrialization Strategies: their General Implications for Women Workers

14. Basically, African Governments have followed either an import substitution or an export oriented industrial development strategy. Countries, such as Egypt and Ivory Coast, have historically reconsidered and reoriented their industrial development strategies from import substitution to export led development. Both strategies are quite distinct from the self-reliant industrialization strategy of the Industrial Development Decade for Africa Programme.

15. The import substitution industrial development strategy has been employed in private, mixed and socialist economies. The strategy involves the development of domestic consumer oriented industries which produce products formerly imported for the urban elite. In Africa, these industries have been heavily committed towards the production of food, beverages and tobacco. Basic consumer goods such as clothing, pharmaceuticals and paper have continued to be imported. The import

substitution industries, protected by higher tariff walls and encouraged by tax incentives, have high import components, or in other words, are characterized by a small value added. Raw materials, capital equipment with western embodied technology, and spare parts are imported to run these enterprises. Sometimes the domestic markets are too narrow to support these firms. As a result, in countries such as Ivory Coast, the plants and equipment are underutilized, leading to high cost per unit. The domestically produced items are, therefore, more expensive than imported substitutes.

16. Generally such industries have had a limited employment generation effect, particularly for women. These industries have clustered in urban centres close to the source of imported inputs and nearby their elite consuming public. Most African women, however, live in rural areas. Moreover, the import substitution industries, being capital intensive, do not generate many unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. In the surplus labour markets of Africa, employers often chose to fill the limited low skill jobs with male workers, The import substitution industries do require a limited number of highly skilled managerial, scientific and technical personnel. Yet, African women generally lack the necessary education and skills to fill these vacancies; instead, expatriate employees perform these well paid functions. Finally, import substitution industries, promoted and protected by government, have displaced traditional small scale manufactures such as textiles which employed women workers.

17. An export oriented industrial development strategy involves an African country producing for a competitive international market in order to generate an inflow of earnings. Such export industries may process agricultural products, minerals or undertake consumer oriented manufactures. The development of export oriented agro processing industries is based on endowed natural resources and the availability of cheap labour. The health of an export oriented agro processing economy is dependent on the level and stability of world prices and the adequate supply of imported equipment with spare parts. To be competitive in an international market, such industries are encouraged to adopt labour savings techniques in order to produce at higher levels of productivity, thereby reducing per unit costs. As a result, there is an increased demand for semi-skilled or skilled manpower to operate and maintain the machinery. As in the case of Ivory Coast, male labour is, therefore, predominantly found in the canning industry. Technology has caused a displacement of women from the traditionally female food processing activities.

18. The development of export oriented agro processing industries also alters the traditional division of labour by gender in rural agriculture. To supply these industries, males often specialize in the production of commercial cash crops, leaving the production of subsistence crops entirely to women. Wives find that their work burdens increase as they are indirectly increasing the feasibility of large scale agro processing enterprises. But as studies show, it is not inevitable that money income generated from male cash crop activities will lead to an improvement of the basic living standard of family members. Instead, this money may be used for the purchase of items which increase male social prestige and status in the community.

19. Export oriented manufacturing industries also depend on a cheap labour supply. But, in contrast to agro processing industries, such enterprises require imported raw materials. Generally, these industries have rather low levels of capital

utilization and depend on female labour to undertake monotonous jobs requiring dexterity, such as electronics assembly. These enterprises compete with firms in other developing areas in terms of product quality and price. Such export oriented manufacturing firms are often owned outright by multinationals or are joint ventures. Women employees usually receive low wages, do not learn transferable skills and may even experience adverse health conditions from production processes. The working life of such employees may indeed be shortened without suitable compensation.

20. Since export oriented manufacturing industries produce for external, competitive markets particularly in developed countries, they are extremely vulnerable to fluctuations in the international business cycles. In recessionary periods, developed countries increase protectionist policies or impose higher quota restrictions to protect home interests. Sluggish exports lead to production outbacks and employment retrenchments.

21. African governments, in pursuing the above two industrialization strategies, have focused their programmes on large scale enterprises. Only within the last decade have a few countries such as Nigeria incorporated specific national small-scale industry development plans. It was thought by planners that with industrialization, the relative economic importance of such enterprises would diminish. Instead, it has been discovered that the small scale enterprise sector has grown in terms of contribution to Gross Domestic Product and employment generation. In the Industrial Development Decade for Africa Programme, it is recognized that such industries are also important for meeting the basic needs of the population, developing a semi-skilled manufacturing labour force, and stimulating indigenous entrepreneurial activities. Through subcontracting activities, such enterprises help form the links of an integrated industrial economy.

III. The Structure of the Industrial Sector in Africa

22. The industrial sector in many African countries is dualistic; that is, it is composed of a modern large scale sector and a small scale enterprise sector or "informal sector". These two subsectors differ in term of:

(a) enterprise and employer characteristics
(b) the nature of work and working conditions
(c) worker characteristics
(d) the degree of unionization
(e) worker legal protection.

23. The two subsectors are not completely autonomous as raw materials, finished production and labour flow between them. Modern sector workers try at times to accumulate capital and learn skills in large enterprises so that they may in the future become informal sector enterpreneurs. Female modern sector employees, experiencing problems of dual role conflicts, may opt for the more flexible hours and working conditions of the small scale sector.

24. In the modern sector, workers are employed in large scale capital intensive manufacturing enterprises clustered in urban centres. These enterprises may be western or communist bloc, multinational subsidiaries, government corporations,

indigenous family enterprises or third world multinational subsidiaries. The modern sector manufacturing industries primarily produce goods for the local elite or for export using primarily imported raw materials. Workers in the modern sector are often unionized, relatively highly educated,protected by national labour legislation and enjoy relatively high, stable wages. Employees follow patterns of fixed work days at establishments often far from their residence.

25. The informal or small business manufacturing sector includes small family manufacturing enterprises employing 10 or fewer workers, comprised of cooperatives as well as individual craftsmen located in urban and rural areas. This sector manufactures goods for the vast low income population using indigenous materials and labour intensive technologies. In contrast to modern sector enterprises, informal sector enterprises are often unregistered, operated by single proprietors and without access to formal capital markets. Most enterprises are financed by personal saving, or by relatives. Although small scale enterprises use labour intensive techniques, their labour absorption capacity is limited because of their size. "Modern" informal sector enterprises manufacture goods which may be considered substitutes to those produced in the modern sector, such as wood and metal products. These enterprises usually require a higher capitalization and employ more workers than more traditional informal sector activities.

26. Most individuals working in the informal sector are self employed or own account workers. Wage earners in this very competitive subsector receive low and often irregular incomes. They are not protected by labour legislation nor are they unionized. Many have had limited exposure to the formal educational system if at all. Some in the manufacturing and enterprises have undergone apprenticeship training. Likewise, small scale entrepreneurs have limited education and lack fundamental management skills such as simple accounting, In the informal sector, workers are engaged in longer but more flexible work days. There are more opportunities for casual and part time work.

IV. Review and Appraisal of African Women's Participation in the Industrialization Process

A. AFRICAN WOMEN'S MODERN SECTOR EMPLOYMENT TRENDS

27. In all four case studies, women comprise a small proportion of all modern sector employees. But as women's education has been rising their participation in the modern sector has been increasing. Generally, more women are employed in the public sector than in the private modern sector. But however within the public sector, a larger percentage of women are employed by the civil service than by profit oriented government corporations. Historically, in countries like Nigeria, the rapid expansion of the government sector during the late 1970's had a substantial impact on women's modern sector activity. It is usually noted that women's employment generation is particularly encouraged in labour markets experiencing labour shortages due to rapid expansion, male migration, natural disasters or war.

28. African women employed in the modern manufacturing sector are concentrated in a limited number of industries. These are usually light consumer oriented industries such as food processing, pharmaceuticals, and electronics. Few women are employed in heavy industries, for example, chemicals, petroleum extraction,etc. Some industries which in other regions have been primary employers of women such as

textiles, in African economies, such as Nigeria and Ivory Coast, have primarily hired male workers. Since African economies are relatively undiversified with small capital goods industries, male workers are forced to compete with female workers for employment. This development is exacerbated by rapid population growth and rural-urban migration trends.

29. Within the industries of the four case study countries, women generally hold low skill, low wage jobs which carry few opportunities for advancement and undertake repetitive work devoid of any decision making powers. For example, within the Nigeria cosmetic industry, a large source of female employment, women label, cap, clean and pack jars. In Tanzania, women are often temporary or casual employees in industry. Some of the women's job are related to their traditional family roles. Nurses, cooks and cleaners are often female occupations in manufacturing industries. Since women are clustered in unskilled jobs, their average industrial wages are lower than men's.

30. In the four case studies, women are systematically excluded from certain job categories because of formal as well as informal barriers to entry. Very few women are managers, especially in multinational corporations, or entrepreneurs in the modern sector. A larger number of women hold senior level scientific and professional jobs. Yet they still represent a very small proportion of those employed in this category. Many of these women are laboratory scientists, in scarce supply, who interact to a limited degree with male workers, or professional accountants. Although a few women hold senior level scientific or professional jobs and many have unskilled jobs in industry, practically none are intermediate level technicians and artisans. The formal barriers which prevent women from entering some of these occupations include lack of educational or technical training, labour laws and training quotas, while informal barriers include customs and religious practices, management and workers' attitudes. Often formal and informal barriers in combination actually exclude women from certain occupational categories. For example, few women have the educational background to be multinational managers, yet few male employees in the four case study countries would be willing to work under a woman, given traditional attitudes of male dominance. Generally, in a factory there will be some intermediate level female supervisors if there are significant numbers of female production workers.

31. Self-imposed discriminatory attitudes also affect women's entry into certain occupations. Few women are intermediate level artisans or technicians, as few females choose to attend technical schools or trade centres in order to learn necessary skills. Yet in the four case studies, there is a shortage of technical and scientific manpower, particularly at the intermediate level. As has been pointed out earlier, women's employment potential is greater in occupational labour markets of limited supply.

32. In instituting any protective legislation for women, government must be concerned with the way proposed changes affect women's various roles of wife, mother and worker. Otherwise, such legislation may become a formal barrier to women's income generating activities; government may have to institute compensatory policies. For example, protective labour legislation, which prohibits women's night employment, has been instituted in many African countries before women were a significant proportion of the modern labour force. Such measures have prevented women from being employed as continuous process workers, thereby restricting their employment opportunities. In addition, the Ivory Coast, Nigerian and Tanzanian governments introduced beneficial universal primary education programmes without considering how these programmes would create difficulties for working mothers with small children. Such programmes reduce the number of youths who are prepared to be household helpers. These government did not consider the child care implications of their policies and did not plan accordingly.

33. In the four case studies, few women are actively engaged in modern sector trade union activities, an unfortunate trend, as women's wages and working conditions have generally been better in countries having a strong women's trade union wing. Women's trade union strength has, of course, been limited by the small number of modern sector women workers who potentially can be organized. Moreover, in Nigeria, the restructuring of company trade unions into national industrial unions by the government has made it more difficult for women members to have a decisive impact on union policies. Generally, the women's trade union movement has been adversely affected by traditional norms which relegate women to a quiet submissive role, the demands of women's domestic responsibilities and the often negative attitude of male trade unionists. For example, at the recent general meeting of the Nigeria Trade Union Congress, male trade unionists voted down a resolution to the constitution that would have provided for a separate women's wing with budgetary control. Under the constitution there is now only a department for women's trade union activities. Presently, collective bargaining agreements in some African countries contain clauses such as health care provisions, transfer benefits or leave benefits that are prejudicial to women. In Nigeria, a few collective bargaining agreements not only contain non-discriminatory clauses, but in terms of actual provisions are gender neutral in the sense that benefits apply to both sexes equally.

34. Workers, in modern sector African industries, often expect to start their own informal sector enterprises simultaneously with their modern sector employment or after retirement. Such a practice supplements existing low wages, provides a measure of socio-economic mobility and increases economic independence. Although women as well as men often have such expectations, women are more disadvantaged in this regard than their male colleagues. Male industrial workers generally receive higher wages and, therefore, can more easily accumulate the necessary capital to start such enterprises. In addition, men often have industrial technical skills which they learned in trade centres or through on-the-job training programmes. Such skills are transferrable to "modern" informal sector enterprises. Women, who for the most part are unskilled labour in the modern manufacturing sector, lack the ability to transfer skills and have less capital to invest in businesses.

B. African Women's Informal Sector Employment Trends

35. Most African women, particularly those with limited education, work in either the urban or rural informal sector. Some, such as the elite Hausa women of northern Nigeria, may engage in producing handicrafts within the seclusion of the husbands' compounds, removed from the public eye and unrecorded by official statistics. Within the informal sector, women undertake a variety of income generating activities, such as commodity trading, food processing or crafts such as weaving or making pots. In African countries, particularly in rural areas, the type of activity undertaken by a women in terms of the actual product manufactured or the stage of the production process undertaken is regulated to a degree by custom and tradition. For example, women's involvement in the production of palm oil varies within west African countries in terms of what parts of the process are female responsibilities. Also the distribution of benefits differs by ethnic group. In south west Nigeria, Yoruba women process the palm oil from fruit gathered by men. They are not entitled to the revenue derived from the sale of the oil, but rather may take any income accruing from the sale of by products.

36. Although flexible hours and working conditions generally allow mothers working in the informal sector to more easily reconcile the demands of their domestic and work responsibilities, women's informal sector incomes are usually lower and more variable than modern sector industrial remuneration. Women working in the informal sector are also not entitled to maternity leave or sick leave benefits, nor are they usually unionized. Market women, particularly in west Africa, have strong associations, but informal sector women producers in many African countries do not usually have comparable organizations. In the future, the child-care responsibilities of informal sector women will increasingly become a problem as the value of their time increases and as they become more engaged in manufacturing rather than simple trading activities.

37. Working women in this sector are usually self employed or own account workers. A greater proportion of men are wage earners and apprentices. As mentioned earlier, "modern" informal sector enterprises which manufacture alternatives to modern sector products generate more employment and usually have more apprentices than more traditional activities. Studies, however, are beginning to suggest that there is sex segregation both in the informal as well as in the modern sector. A greater proportion of women are engaged in trading or service oriented activities than in production process enterprises which have higher rates of capitalization. Few women, in addition, choose to undertake apprenticeship training in such areas as metal work, printing, air conditioning, carpentry or welding.

38. These are traditionally "male" occupations, but there is no evidence that owners would refuse to take female apprentices. Rather women have not sought such opportunities. It is, however, true that parents and peer groups would probably raise objection to such an interest. Women entering such training would need strong personalities and would be helped by informal support networks.

39. The patterns of sex segregation in the informal sector are also developing because men and women have differential access to economic resources such as land, capital and raw materials, often because of customs and traditions. For example, Yoruba males in Nigeria traditionally have had more access to land and can use land as collateral for loans or land sale proceeds for investments. Gari production, historically, among this ethnic group is a female occupation. But as the process has become semi-mechanized the machines are now principally owned by rural males who set rental rates for women producers. Similarly, catering activities in hotels or restaurants have now become male activities in Yoruba towns, as women lack the necessary capital.

40. In the future, there is likely to be increased competition between men and women seeking income generating activities in the informal sector. The limited employment generation capacity of the modern sector will not be able to absorb the rapidly growing youth population which has been exposed to some primary school education. In addition, in countries like Nigeria, the modern public and private sectors will not be able to employ the growing numbers of polytechnic and university graduates. These individuals, both male and female, will increasingly have to develop self employed activities or organize small scale production process enterprises probably undertaking subcontracting work for the modern sector. In such a highly competitive small scale sector, women will have to be highly motivated, career oriented and willing to experiment with non-traditional work activities.

V. Factors Affecting Women's Participation in the Industrialization Process

41. Analytically socio-economic factors on both the demand and the supply sides of the industrial labour market influence African women's participation in the industrialization process. These variables are briefly outlined below.

42. On the demand side, factors influencing the types and numbers of jobs potentially open to women include national industrialization strategy; the number of industries, their scale and technologies; the supply and demand for male labour; labour legislation as it affects female workers; recruitment, selection and promotion policies of enterprises and the attitudes of personnel managers and enterprise owners towards hiring women. Within some of these factors, certain subfactors need to be considered. The supply and demand for male labour is affected by the occupational distribution of male labour in relation to industrial needs, as well as male migration and male educational characteristics.

43. Recruitment, selection and promotion policies at the enterprise level can be influenced by ethnic customs and traditions as well as imported sex stereotypes, labour market conditions, objective differential labour costs by sex as result of maternity leave, productivity differentials and turnover, among other factors; discriminatory attitudes on the part of management and fellow workers; the nature of the union in the enterprise and provisions of the collective bargaining agreement; informal vs. formal methods of recruitment and firm wage policies, that is high vs. low wage policies. Personnel managers and enterprise owner's attitudes towards hiring women can be affected by social class biases, previous personal experience as well as by sex of the personnel manager or owner.

44. On the supply side, that is, what women actually desire for themselves,causal factors include social structure, family expectations for female children, women's motivations to enter industrial employment, demands within the nuclear family unit and the nature of industrial work. Among the elements of social structure affecting the supply of women workers are cultural definitions of socially-appropriate roles for women, the relative status and power of the sexes in society, including their right of access to economic resources and to control income flows, family structure (monogamous vs. polygamous marriage, importance of the extended family) and the role of the media in perpetuating traditional stereotypes.

45. Family expectations for their female children include the economic and social benefits expected from female children (i.e. responsibilities to aged parents), relative educational expectations for male and female children (level and appropriate courses of study), and expectations concerning fertility levels of female children. A number of factors influence women's motivation to enter industrial employment. These include their desire for economic independence, their desire to obtain capital for self-employment, the need to pay family expenses, their achievement orientation in terms of desire for a career, government policy, including the availability of free or low-cost formal education and/or vocational training and the advice received from parents, peers and teachers or guidance counsellors.

46. Within the nuclear family unit, the availability of women for industrial labour is influenced by the division of labour within the home, including the contribution of their spouse or co-wives, paid helpers and extended family members;

the number and ages of their children and the availability and cost of child care; social infrastructure to promote increased home productivity, such as dependable supplies of water and electricity, readily available markets and transportation facilities, labour-saving devices and commercially-produced foodstuffs; and availability and cost of health facilities. The desire of women to enter industrial employment is influenced by the nature of the work itself, including the location of industries, opportunities for training and advancement, salary levels, working conditions (including possibilities for part-time work), attitudes towards women on the part of fellow male workers and management and fringe benefits, including sick leave and maternity leave.

VI. General Strategies for Increasing African Women's Participation in the Industrialization Process

A. EMPLOYMENT CREATION STRATEGIES[4/]

47. Three alternative strategies for creating additional employment for women during the Industrial Development Decade for Africa can be envisaged. They are as follows:

1) Strengthening the Status Quo:

48. Planners identify the industrial subsectors with high concentrations of women and see that additional resources are invested in these particular sectors by directives or incentives, depending on the organization of the economy. Such a strategy would tend to perpetuate the clustering of women in low skill, low income jobs with limited promotion possibilities. This approach would continue the marginalization of women workers, although in greater numbers. It would do nothing to expand the horizon of possibilities for women and would perpetuate beliefs of female powerlessness within the total socio-economic system. The perpetuation of women workers concentrated in a few occupational categories within a small number of industries would, also, make them vulnerable in the long run to technological displacement.

2) Non-Traditional Female Employment Strategy

49. Planners identify areas of specific labour shortage in the traditionally male occupations in both the modern and informal sectors. Next, government encourages the development of women's perception of the suitability of such occupations by organizing gender neutral career guidance programmes and ensures women's equal access to appropriate educational institutions or training programmes. Finally, perhaps in conjunction with a media campaign, employers are encouraged voluntarily to hire suitably trained women applicants. As an alternative, employers may be forced to

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4/ This section draws on the ideas of Dr Barbara Ibrahim, Ford Foundation, Cairo.

hire more women as part of a required quota system. The actual policy would be influenced by the structure of the economy, particularly, the characteristics of enterprise ownership. In a socialist economy, for example, it would be more feasible to institute a quota project. It is, however, likely that there will be opposition from male workers, particularly when women enter semi-skilled jobs or supervisory positions. Research is needed to understand the types of opposition women will face on entering such occupations and what managerial policies could help alleviate these problems.

50. This employment strategy, not always easy to implement, helps develop a more integrated economy based on a fuller utilization of human resources; it also enlarges the perceived options available to women which probably leads to subtle psychological changes. Such changes may also have significant spillover effects in other areas of women's socio-economic existence.

3) Women's Comparative Advantage Strategy

51. This strategy represents a middle ground between the two earlier mentioned alternatives. Planners identify industrial growth sectors and analyze the job descriptions to pinpoint those areas which require "female-appropriate skills". Next, they develop appropriate women's training and/or placement programmes.

52. The determination of "female-appropriate skills" could be determined on an objective basis, but is more likely to be based on societal perceptions, thereby continuing traditional prejudices. Another problem is that many of the basic and intermediate goods industries to be encouraged during the Industrial Development Decade for Africa do not seem to need socially defined "female-appropriate skills". A fundamental issue is that technology and production equipment can initially be modified, if it is evident that women as well as men will be in the workforce. Once the equipment is placed, then the substitutability between the sexes may become more limited, if this was not considered in the design stage. Basically, this strategy does not threaten the existing industrial order as the second strategy does and is somewhat more forward looking than the first alternative.

B. STRATEGIES TO REDUCE GENDER DIFFERENTIATED LABOUR COSTS

53. Employer's discriminatory practices against women employees may, in some cases, be based on objective labour cost differentials by gender. Part of these differentiated costs may be due to governmental regulations such as maternity leave provisions or prohibited night work, and part may be due to the indirect effects of women's conflicting dual role requirements. Therefore, to promote women's employment planners should consider strategies to reduce gender differentiated labour costs or, alternatively, be able to show employers that higher costs in the long run are set by productivity and turnover differentials. For example, planners might consider whether maternity leave programmes should be redesigned from a social benefit viewpoint to encompass a longer time period and might also reevalate funding procedures. Perhaps it would be better for employers to make a percentage contribution to a national social security programme for this purpose. This contribution could also try to lower the perceived risks of hiring women by encouraging and financially sponsoring creative pilot projects that deal with women's special needs. For example, flexible work plans, job sharing and company transportation schemes are possible.

However, unfortunately, such programmes have been most successful in situations of labour shortages. It is likely that programmes for women that increase employers fixed costs will be less deterimental to women's employment than those which increase variable production costs.

54. The higher fixed costs could be reduced by tax write offs. For example, in Egypt employers of 100 or more women were legally required to provide child care facilities, increasing both employers fixed and variable costs. As a consequence, employers substituted male labour for female employees. It would have been a better strategy for the government to require the employers to provide the physical facilities with a tax write off compensation and to have unions, voluntary agencies or cooperative associations of women workers finance and run the day care operations.

VII. Policy Recommendations for Increasing African Women's Participation in the Industrialization Process

A. INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

55. International agencies should:

1) Undertake projects to detail women's activities in the informal sector with a view to:

a) identifying linkages between the modern sector and the informal sector as individualization proceeds;

b) identifying old or new products and processes where women of different educational backgrounds might effectively participate in production;

c) identifying attitudinal or institutional constraints to women's industrial activities in the informal sector;

2) Sponsor evaluation studies of the problems women face when undertaking:

a) non-traditional female training programmes in technical schools, universities or as part of apprenticeship programmes;

b) non-traditional employment in both the modern and informal sectors at different skill levels;

3) Help develop guidelines, materials and training programmes for counsellors who will engage in gender neutral career guidance programmes.

4) Help develop and finance print or electronic media programmes in local languages to publicize:

a) women's non-traditional industrial activities in the modern and informal sectors;

b) the value, principles and organization of women's cooperative activities in the small scale enterprise sector;

c) the economic value to the families of educating female children;

5) Undertake studies to show how alternative work arrangements, worker benefits and services can increase women workers' productivity and reduce gender differential labour costs.

6) Undertake projects to evaluate problems of organizing and training women trade unionists, including;

a) an evaluation of collective bargaining agreement provisions as they pertain to women worker;

b) an appraisal of "gender neutral" collective bargaining agreements;

c) an evaluation of the characteristics of labour disputes involving women and their settlement;

7) Sponsor projects considering the effects of alternative maternity leave programme provisions as well as different funding arrangements.

8) Undertake projects evaluating the health affects of various modern sector and informal sector industrial processes on women and developing preventative health measures.

9) Sponsor studies of the image of African women portrayed in imported school textbooks and in new indigenously produced materials as well as commission writers of French, English and local languages to produce new materials presenting a more positive image of women's non-traditional income generating activities.

10) Investigate new ways in which women can pool their economic resources to:

a) finance directly industries which promote women's employment generation;

b) establish new types of financial institutions, i.e. women's banks that would give borrowing preference to women.

B. NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS

56. National governments should:

1) Insure that all industrial development planning documents and programmes explicitly take into account the potential contribution and interests of women workers.

2) Organize a politically visible women's bureau or commission to:

a) make sure that government agencies collect suitable statistics concerning women's income generating activities;

b) act as the advocate of women's interest when government is considering new development strategies, plans and targets;

c) sponsor women's non-traditional income generating demonstration projects in the informal sector;

d) develop seminars for women students and workers on positive work attitudes and training opportunities;

e) encourage government ministries, public corporations and private corporations to hire women in non-traditional jobs.

3) Reconsider protective labour legislation and effects in terms of employment generation.

4) Use fiscal policies to encourage women's modern sector industrial employment, for example:

a) tax relief to working mothers for child care expenses;

b) tax write offs for employers who provide fixed costs for child care facilities.

5) Show as a major modern sector employer, public willingness to hire women in non-traditional jobs, perhaps, by instituting short-term women's employment quotas.

6) Ministries of education, with the assistance of the women's commission, should develop and implement career guidance programmes for primary and secondary female students to:

a) emphasize the social realities of women's economic responsibilities within family units;

b) develop positive work attitudes;

c) prepare women for career commitments;

d) encourage women to prepare for non-traditional occupations in both the modern and informal sectors.

7. Not establish separate vocational training centres for male and female students with different courses of study. Optimally, such institutions should be in such number and geographically dispersed so that all students could be day pupils. Financial incentives or bursaries should be given to females undertaking non-traditional courses of study.

8) Provide functional literacy programmes for adult women with reading modules that provide functional information about:

a) women's income generating activities;

b) women's cooperative organization;

c) extension advice, etc.

9) Simplify procedures for registering small scale businesses and cooperatives.

10) Establish a voluntary programme for retired school teachers, government functionaries and businessmen to:

a) provide career guidance for youths;

b) help develop the skills of informal sector enterpreneurs;

c) aid the women's bureaux in setting up women's income generating demonstration projects;

11) Encourage the formation of unions of female small scale entrepreneurs in the informal sector and provide technical assistance for the setting up of revolving credit schemes.

12) Encourage the development of appropriate technologies that increase women's productivity in the home and work place;

a) a women's bureau member should be consulted before instituting any new technical project that would affect women, in order to consider its socio-economic effects;

b) offer special prizes for the development of such technologies that are economically feasible;

13) Prohibit job vacancy advertisements by sex and instead require non-discriminatory statements.

14) Licence and regulate all nursery schools and day care centres and provide training courses for licenced child care attendents.

15) Give subventions to voluntary agencies to subsidize the cost of training programmes for female school leavers that provide them with saleable non-traditional skills.

16) Expand family planning programmes so women workers can more judiciously space their maternity leave requests.

C. VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

57. Voluntary agencies should:

1) undertake demonstration projects to introduce simple appropriate technologies to rural areas that will ease women's work burdens;

2) provide scholarships or bursaries for women to study scientific or technical fields;

3) be encouraged to help develop child care facilities. Employers should not be forced to provide such facilities but rather should be encouraged by tax incentives;

4) actively engage in programmes to enroll young educated women with potential economic power into voluntary associations in order to develop networks of women's support systems, particularly in the modern industrial sector;

5) Associations of women lawyers should:

a) challenge in court laws or administrative practices in the public and private sectors that discriminate against women;

b) provide advice about "gender neutral" collective bargaining agreements;

6) use their potential economic power to force the private media to present a more positive picture of women's income generating activities by advertising or threatening to withdraw patronage;

7) set up training programmes for female school leavers to provide them with saleable non-traditional skills.